

## STRESS AS THE BASIS OF THE SWEDISH ACCENT DISTINCTION

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The Swedish accents have traditionally and in recent generative analyses been treated as prosodic features covering two or more syllables within a word. In standard Swedish, accent II has two phonetic pitch peaks corresponding to the primary and secondary stress, while accent I has a single peak corresponding to the primary stress. I propose a synchronic analysis in which stress is assigned to words by rules similar to those developed by Chomsky and Halle (1968) for English, with the phonological cycle accounting for stress subordination. A PITCH rule assigns pitch peaks to the primary and a following secondary stress, if any.

The main body of the paper focusses on four stress rules for Swedish. The cyclic COMPOUND rule assigns the stress pattern ...1...2... to compounds (and certain other constructions). The result undergoes the PITCH rule to receive a pitch contour perceived as accent II. The MAIN stress and RETRACTION rules account for the ...1...2... pattern of words like spé<sup>1</sup>gél<sup>2</sup> 'mirror', which also have accent II. The THEME stress rule operates in words like gorilla<sup>1</sup><sup>2</sup> 'gorilla', giving these a ...1...2... stress pattern and thus accent II. These rules must be extrinsically ordered as (1) THEME stress, (2) MAIN stress, (3) RETRACTION.

These rules are sufficient to explain the difference in the location of secondary stress (and hence in the shape of the pitch contour) of word pairs like jórdandé<sup>1</sup><sup>2</sup> 'burying' and jórdände<sup>1</sup><sup>2</sup> 'earth spirit'. The COMPOUND rule, properly formalized, predicts accent I for compound verbs of the type betála<sup>1</sup> 'pay', although the basis verb tála<sup>1</sup><sup>2</sup> 'speak' has accent II. This analysis of betála can be generalized to adjective phrases of the type för många<sup>1</sup> 'too many', which have accent I, although the adjective många 'many' in isolation has accent II.

The Swedish accents are best understood as a phonetic reflex of stress patterns and can be described by universal pitch features without language specific features like Linell's [+Accent II].

#### References

- Chomsky, N. and M. Halle (1968): "The Sound Pattern of English",  
New York: Harper and Row.
- Linell, P. (1972): "Remarks on Swedish Morphology", Reports from  
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